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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-90-247  
Monday  
24 December 1990

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-90-247

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24 December 1990

**NOTICE TO READERS:** As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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## Chad

### Soungui Comments on Habre Extradition Moves

LD2112195590 Paris International Service in French  
1230 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The situation is back to normal in Ndjamen, where the curfew imposed since 1 December—at the moment of Idriss Deby's coming to power—has been finally lifted. The new Chadian Government has let it be known that house searches continue to recover goods stolen in the looting of the capital throughout the 1 December weekend when Hissein Habre fled. The latter will be tried by a special criminal court, which was decided on in theory by the Council of State, the Chadian Government said yesterday. The government intends to ask Senegal to extradite the former head of state, who has taken refuge in that country. This was confirmed by the new Chadian foreign minister, Ahmed Soungui, interviewed by correspondent Christophe Boisbouvier this morning:

[Begin recording] [Soungui] We have been in touch with the Senegalese authorities, first to ask them to help us recover our rights, that is, to recover the assets belonging to our state, and then we shall use all the political, juridical, and perhaps financial means to proceed with trying Hissein Habre in a Chadian court.

[Boisbouvier] Are you going to ask Abdou Diouf to deliver Hissein Habre to you?

[Soungui] Yes, why not? We promise to do things correctly, and Hissein Habre can gather all the means to defend himself. This will take place in circumstances of complete openness. We will spare no efforts in trying to get hold of him so that he should account for his actions to our people.

[Boisbouvier] You know that this is not a common occurrence in Africa. The overthrown heads of state find asylum elsewhere, and go into a retirement, of sorts.

[Soungui] True enough. The Senegalese are free to refuse, but it is our duty to ask. We will ask for Hissein Habre and use all means necessary to get hold of him.

[Boisbouvier] Even if there is no extradition convention between Chad and Senegal?

[Soungui] I have just told you that we will create the conditions. If any extradition convention is the only way, then we will establish it between Senegal and Chad.

[Boisbouvier] This is Ahmed Soungui, who is in Paris and who has asked for emergency aid of 5 billion CFA Francs simply to cover the current month.

[Soungui] You know as well as I do that the former president left carrying everything. All the coffers are now empty, and we need a minimum in order to make a start. We do not hesitate to ask this of France. [repetitive passage omitted]

[Boisbouvier]: Has France given an affirmative answer?

[Soungui] It has not exactly said yes, but we have found understanding, and the amount of cooperation will be decided this afternoon. But already I can tell you that we are optimistic.

[Boisbouvier] This was the first interview with the new Chadian foreign minister, Ahmed Soungui, a former GUNT [Transitional National Unity Government] ambassador to Algiers. [end recording]

### Justice Official Comments

AB2312085090 Ndjamen Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] The latest meeting of the Council of State has decided to create a special criminal court to judge former President Hissein Habre. The commission for justice and keeper of the seals has been directed to begin the process. What does the Department of Justice want to do to implement this decision? To know more about this, this morning Radio Chad met with the commissioner for justice and keeper of the seals, Abakar Ballah. He was interviewed by our reporter, Sustain Gargoon.

[Begin recording] [Ballah] The council wants to proceed with creating a special criminal court to judge the president and has authorized my commission to [words indistinct]. In this case, it is necessary to first establish the court. This can be done with an ordinance from the head of state. This will be followed by a (?decree) in conformity with the spirit of [words indistinct] which will nominate the members of this court. As soon as the members are nominated, the rest [words indistinct].

[Gargoon] You are accusing the former head of state. You are accusing him of financial crime and crime against humanity. Do you have any proof of the number of people and the amount of money involved? [Words indistinct] condemn to death in absentia?

[Ballah] The crimes of which he is accused are financial and human; we all agree on that. As for the amount of crime committed, I cannot give you that exact information, but we are sure that very soon there will be a commission of inquiry to do all the necessary ground work. Its work will be very important to expose the crimes committed over the past eight years.

[Gargoon] That means that for now you do not have any concrete proof?

[Ballah] Concrete proof? We think that it is the people who have brought the proof because it is the people who have been tortured. We have seen the dead bodies on television. This is not enough to enable him to be charged. As I was saying, we need to establish a joint commission which will work and submit a report which will be officially used as proof at the the criminal court. Moreover, the [words indistinct] that the court will have carried out.

[Gargoon] Today former President Hissein Habre is in exile in Senegal. Do you think that President Diouf will deliver Hissein Habre to you?

[Ballah] I hope so because even if the extradition of [words indistinct], we think that Chad has the right to request his extradition because there is a general cooperation agreement in the field of justice which was signed in 1961, and Senegal and [words indistinct] members of this convention. Article 41 of this convention is as follows: Extradition is possible among the signatories of this convention. Therefore, considering this issue, we will ask President Diouf to extradite President Hissein so that he can be judged.

[Gargoon] Just like the judgment of Bokassa in the Central African Republic?

[Ballah] I am not quite sure of that, but Bokassa's case is different because I would not say that Bokassa was extradited. It is because France wanted to do away with Bokassa that he was returned to Bangui. Bokassa's case was not a real extradition. [end recording]

#### **Deby Denies Libya Relations Strained**

AB221222090 Paris AFP in English  
1552 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Algiers, Dec 22 (AFP)—Chad's new strongman Idriss Deby denied on Saturday that relations between Chad and Libya had been strained by the evacuation following his seizure of power of Libyan prisoners from Chad to Nigeria, in an interview with the Algerian news agency APS.

Mr. Deby said that his decision to allow the United States to evacuate the Libyan prisoners, who had been trained by U.S. advisors to carry out commando attacks against the regime of Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammarr Qadhafi, had been "a gesture of good will to begin a new phase of relations between Chad and Libya. Chad, he asserted, could not accept that "Libya be threatened by any opposition based in Chad."

In regards to the territorial dispute between the two countries over the Aozou strip, Mr. Deby said that he expected "justice to be done" by the International Court of Justice at the Hague, to which both parties had agreed to submit their dispute.

"All problems must be settled through dialogue," he declared, and expressed hope that Chad's relations with Libya, Algeria and other neighboring countries, as well as with France and the United States, would be based on "cooperation, perfect understanding and the good neighbor principle."

Mr. Deby also confirmed his intention to request the extradition of former president Hissein Habre from Senegal, where he took refuge last month following the defeat of his government's army in a lightning campaign by Mr. Deby's forces.

#### **Foreign Minister Denies Libyan Influence**

LD2112205990 Paris International Service in French  
1830 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Libya is trying to seduce the new Chadian leaders. According to Western sources, Libya is trying to reestablish itself in Chad, particularly in the Tebesti area on the border. At the same time, almost every day Tripoli sends planes to Ndjamenas loaded with food aid. Does this air shuttle bother the Chadian regime? This is the question Christophe Boisbouvier put to Ahmed Soungui, the new Chadian foreign minister, who is visiting Paris:

[Begin recording] [Soungui] I think people are jumping to conclusions. Libya is helping us as it would any other country. If the Libyans find reasons to send ten planes to us with supplies of flour or sugar, I think this is their business. But it should not be translated really as if Chad is under the complete influence of Libya.

[Boisbouvier] Some people are wondering whether Idriss Deby promised the Aouzou Strip to Libya in exchange for Libyan support during his rebellion?

[Soungui] I immediately say no. Idriss Deby is a patriot, like all Chadians, and I don't think that even Goukouni or any others who are still present in Libya had made this commitment.

[Boisbouvier] Which means that the Aouzou Strip remains Chadian in your opinion?

[Soungui] Yes, we are within our rights even if we accept that the proceedings already started at the International Court of Justice continue. We Chadians accept the principles established by the OAU Charter which speaks of the inviolability of borders. If Libya has any reason for claiming this area, it should rely on the International Court which will give its verdict. [passage omitted]

#### **Burkina's Compaore Arrives on Working Visit**

AB2212212490 Ndjamenas Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Burkinabe head of state Captain Compaore is on a friendly working visit to Chad. He arrived in Ndjamenas early this evening and was met at the Ndjamenas International Airport by the president of the Council of State, Colonel Idriss Deby, who was accompanied by Madoum Bada Abbas, vice president of the Council of State. The two heads of state held their first discussions at the VIP lounge of the airport. The discussions lasted for half an hour. The visit is taking place two weeks after the accession to power of the Patriotic Salvation Movement.

Questioned on the purpose of his visit to our country by our counterpart, Juvenal Djonabae, the Burkinabe head of state disclosed that he has come to lay the basis for a new cooperation between Chad and his country, Burkina Faso. Let us listen to him. [Compaore recording indistinct]



For his part, the chairman of the Council of State, Col. Idriss Deby, explained to the national press what he expects from relations between the two countries. [Deby recording indistinct]

Capt. Blaise Compaore is the first head of state to visit Chad since the 1 December change of government. At this very moment, the Burkinabe head of state is the guest of honor at a dinner party organized in his honor by the president of the Council of State.

### Communique Issued

AB2312215390 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Joint communique issued at the end of a friendly working visit by Burkinabe President Blaise Compaore to Ndjamenat on 22 and 23 December; issued in Ndjamenat 23 December; read by Abakar Mallah, minister of justice and acting external relations minister—recorded]

[Text] At the invitation of his brother and friend, His Excellency Colonel Idriss Deby, chairman of the Central Committee of the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS], chairman of the Council of State, and president of the Republic of Chad, His Excellency Captain Blaise Compaore, chairman of the Popular Front and head of state and [words indistinct] paid a friendly working visit to Chad from 22 to 23 December 1990. During their talks, the two presidents examined in detail their bilateral relations and the situation in Africa as well as in the world.

Their talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship, brotherhood, and mutual understanding, enabled the two heads of state to note with satisfaction the similarities of views on all the issues raised. On the bilateral scene, the two presidents expressed delight over the similarity of views between the Patriotic Salvation Movement of Chad and the Popular Front of Burkina Faso. The two heads of state agreed to lay the foundation for wide economic, technical, social, and cultural cooperation through the creation of a permanent Chad-Burkina joint commission. To this end, they expressed their desire to work toward the intensification of the friendly ties between the two peoples. Therefore, they decided to open diplomatic missions in Ouagadougou and Ndjamenat as soon as possible.

On regional cooperation, the two president stressed the importance of the policy of integration in solving problems that face African economies. They recognized the need to actively work within their common organization, the Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel, ICDCS, in order to fight against the effects of drought and desert encroachment, which have adversely affected our cereal stockage policy. To this end, they made a passionate appeal to the international community to display a sense of active solidarity toward the severely affected Sahelian people.

Furthermore, the MPS chairman took the opportunity to brief His Excellency Capt. Blaise Compaore on developments in the political situation in Chad and future prospects for the Chadian people. The chairman of the Popular Front, Capt. Blaise Compaore, congratulated his brother and friend, President Idriss Deby, on the success won by the Chadian people in their struggle for freedom and independence.

At the end of this visit to Chad, His Excellency Capt. Blaise Compaore, chairman of the Popular Front, head of state, and head of government, expressed his sincere thanks to his brother and friend, His Excellency Col. Idriss Deby, chairman of the MPS Executive Committee, chairman of the Council of State, and president of the Republic of Chad, for the warm and brotherly reception accorded him and his delegation. The Popular Front chairman, Capt. Blaise Compaore, invited his illustrious host to pay a friendly visit to Burkina Faso at a date to be fixed later through diplomatic channels. The MPS chairman, Col. Idriss Deby, accepted this invitation with delight.

During their discussions, the two heads of state were surrounded by the following personalities: on the Burkinabe side: Comrade Lassane Ouangrawa, secretary for industrial development at the Popular Front's Executive Committee; Salif Diallo, deputy secretary for political relations at the Popular Front's Executive Committee; Gabriel Sanogo, deputy secretary for audit services at the Popular Front's Executive Committee; Frederic Assomption Korsaga, minister of planning and cooperation; Salif Sampebogo, minister of labor and social security; (Sonoko Sefi), diplomatic adviser at the Presidency of Burkina Faso; (Antama Mouansa), adviser on foreign affairs at the Ministry of External Affairs' Political Affairs Directorate.

On the Chadian side: Captain Moussa Bachar, member of the MPS Executive Committee and commissioner for defense; Mr. Mahamat Saleh Adoum, member of the MPS Executive Committee and commissioner for interior security; Mr. Ousmane Ngam, member of the MPS Executive Committee and secretary general of the Council of State; Mr. (Abbas Koti Yako), member of the MPS Executive Committee and general chief of staff of the Patriotic Salvation forces; Mr. Abakar Mallah Moussa, commissioner for justice, keeper of the seals, and acting commissioner for external relations; Mr. Mustapha Ali Alipheï, commissioner for civil service and labor.

### Compaore Comments on Visit

AB2312215590 Ndjamenat Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Commenting on the final communique to the press, Burkinabe President Blaise Compaore spoke about the cordial bonds of friendship existing not only between Chad and Burkina Faso, but also between Chadians and Burkinabe:

[Begin Compaore recording] In the first place, I would like to express my satisfaction after this very fruitful visit to Ndjamenā within the context of friendship. During this visit, we held many discussions with our colleague, President Idriss Deby, within an atmosphere of sincere friendship. We were able to cultivate a very positive appreciation of the political (?achievements) of the people of Chad at this moment in their history and we [words indistinct] the relations between Burkina Faso and Chad.

We are countries with a lot of similarities and have very courageous peoples. We have engaged in combat for development and democracy and for the unity of [words indistinct]. We certainly have many things to exchange (?with others). We therefore think that the people of Burkina Faso can really develop [words indistinct] in the area of diplomacy. As soon as possible, we will establish a joint commission, and we are of the opinion that as far as these relations are concerned, this will be of benefit for the two countries. And we (?will do everything possible so that our objectives are attained to the benefit of our peoples. We will therefore have to see to it that) in the coming months [words indistinct] our solidarity and cooperation. [end recording]

For the Chadian head of state, Colonel Idriss Deby, the Burkinabe head of state's visit is an honor to us. The Burkinabe head of state is the first head of state to visit us. Chad's objectives remain peace, unity, and justice in order to initiate a new political orientation. This is not an easy task. The Patriotic Salvation Movement has inherited a chaotic situation, but the MPS Executive Committee [words indistinct] to improve upon this situation and ensure the well-being of all Chadians. Let us listen to Col. Idriss Deby. [Deby recording indistinct]

### Compaore Departs

AB2312211290 Ndjamenā Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Captain Blaise Compaore, president of Burkina Faso, who arrived in Ndjamenā early yesterday evening, left at noon [1100 GMT] today. He was accompanied to his aircraft at the Ndjamenā international airport by President Idriss Deby, Vice President Madoum Bada Abbas, and all their close assistants.

### Ministry Warns of 'Anarchic' Trade Situation

AB2312170990 Ndjamenā Domestic Service in French  
1900 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Commerce and Industry Ministry communique]

[Text] Businessmen who were (?subjected to) looting committed in the capital a few days ago have hampered the recovery of some local companies. Since a misfortune does not occur once, to this one must be added the consequences of petty traders rushing to Kousseri to replenish their supplies at the expense of wholesalers who are duly registered at the trade board.

The situation was examined this morning by the National Council of Chadian Employers, which held an extraordinary general assembly at the Novotel hotel La Chadienne. (Issa Djedeli, chairman of the council and who presided over the deliberations, observed that disorder, looting, and anarchy are incompatible with the conduct of business. He denounced the new axis for the transaction of goods between Kousseri and Ndjamenā created a few days ago with the advent of the new regime. Unfortunately, the relevant authorities have not been able to control activities there. He expressed the wish to see order restored there as soon as possible so that the victims of this situation, that is to say, the companies, can revive their activities and be sheltered from unfair competition. In this regard, the Ministry for Commerce and Industry has reacted by issuing a press communique, whose content is as follows:

Since the events of 1 December, we have been witnessing a generalized anarchic entry of goods of any nature, including those subject to quotas—that is to say, a maximum quantity of goods that can be imported or exported over a given period. This illegal trade has been taking place at the expense and in defiance of the legislation on economic transactions in effect in the Republic of Chad. This anarchy has been a liability to the domestic economy, notably the national treasury, which has lost customs receipts; national companies; and other businessmen whose sales have declined.

Thus, the commissioner for commerce and industry has notified people involved in these trans-border economic transactions that various services of his department are now operational. Consequently, the administrative and military authorities have been called upon to enforce the rules in cooperation with the relevant technical services in order to put an end to this drain on the domestic economy.

### Editorial Views De Klerk Christmas Message

MB2112121790 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 20 Dec - 10 Jan 90 p 24

[Editorial: "FW's Speech: Not Acceptable"]

[Text] F.W. de Klerk is deluded.

In his end-of-year speech, he made a Charge of the Light Brigade in an attempt to take the moral high ground from the ANC [African National Congress]. In doing so, he returned to the old "us and them" syndrome that has plagued so many of his predecessors.

In most of his previous presidential addresses, De Klerk gone out of his way not just to address his white constituency but the nation as a whole. It was this that lifted him above and beyond all of his finger-waving predecessors.

This week, however, he played straight to the traditional National Party gallery—and the inevitable effect is a return to old battle lines.

De Klerk gave the country a long list of "acceptable" and "unacceptable" behaviour, running together violence and intimidation with attempts at mass protest and the popular expression of political demands.

"There can no longer be any excuse for such behaviour. Genuine grievances can now be democratically aired and the road to negotiation is open," he said.

In the South Africa we know, there is a total ban on all outdoor gatherings, and although magistrates have been more lenient in granting exemptions from this ban, they are still allowed arbitrarily to decide what is a legitimate grievance.

We welcome De Klerk's promise to act against violence and intimidation. We are cautious, however, about how the police interpret this, as they have used such measures before to do little more than attack their political opponents. Our fears are compounded when De Klerk conflates violence and intimidation with legitimate mass protest.

The sad part is that De Klerk has not grasped the fundamentals of democracy. If he wants to lead a democratic country, he cannot simply pronounce on what is acceptable political behaviour and what is not. He may not like the ANC's mass action campaign—nobody would expect anything different—but if this country is moving towards democracy, as he claims, he is no longer in a position to decree it unacceptable. He may not like the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] slogans, but a democracy allows freedom of speech.

De Klerk's fooling himself when he says grievances can now be democratically aired. We still have a minority government and the vast majority of South Africans are not allowed to air their grievances in the most fundamental way: through the ballot.

Until they can, there is every reason for South Africans to continue to voice their demands by organised and disciplined mass action.

There is no need to choose between this path and negotiations. Both are fundamentally a part of the movement towards a more democratic society.

### Article Reviews Message

MB2112134690 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL  
in English 20 Dec - 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge: "Genial FW Sets the Tone for a Clash With ANC"]

[Text] Despite the Christmas wrapping, President F.W. de Klerk's festive season message was one of no compromise and pointed to a head-on clash with the African National Congress [ANC] in the not-too-distant future.

In genial tones, the National Party [NP] leader made it clear to his large television audience this week that the "purpose of proposed negotiations is to determine how, in the interests of all South Africans, power should be shared and domination avoided".

De Klerk firmly put the ANC's recent reaffirmation that it was striving to secure the transfer of power to the majority beyond the rules of the NP's negotiating game.

The president's speech reinforced the impression created by the ANC's recent consultative conference that 1990—despite being a year of incredible change—had not fulfilled its early promise. And at a fundamental level, "the more things change, the more they remain the same".

From his bag of observations, De Klerk produced two promises for 1991:

- Intensified police activities to prevent "crime, disorder, unrest and intimidation".
- The stabilisation of local government so that basic services can again be supplied to these areas.

The latter raises speculation whether some form of interim local government—attempting to involve popular organisations and bridge the divide between township and white town—is in the pipeline.

Devoting perhaps a quarter of his speech to a critique of the ANC gathering—which made the continuation of talks conditional upon the government's removal of obstacles to negotiations by April 30 and the continued suspension of the armed struggle conditional upon the state's putting an end to political bloodshed—De Klerk expressed the view that the ANC "continued to advocate outmoded revolutionary doctrines".

Playing on the fact that the ANC's renewed militancy emanated from the rank and file rather than the national leadership, the president asserted: "The time has come for the ANC to decide what they want. Are they prepared to really follow their leaders' commitments at Groote



Schuur and Pretoria to peaceful and negotiated solutions, or do they want to revert to the confrontation and conflict of the past?"

The prospects of heightened friction over mass action were confirmed by the president's attitude. In the face of the ANC's assertion at the weekend that 1991 would be a year of mass action for the transfer of power, De Klerk made it clear that the "normalisation" of political activity notwithstanding, he saw mass action as essentially linked to the disruption of society and the breeding of conflict.

"The maintenance of law and order is not negotiable," he warned.

In a bid to position himself in the "reasonable" middle-ground, De Klerk took a swipe at the political violence which has crippled the Reef in the latter part of the year, empathising with those touched by the "state of fear and terror (which) has descended on many of our black townships".

Assiduously avoiding identifying the initiators of this bloodshed, De Klerk nevertheless promised an "intensification and extension of impartial policing activities aimed at restoring stability in the affected areas" in the new year.

Inkatha escaped the president's critical eye despite its well-documented role in escalating violence, and the main velvet-toned tongue-lashing was reserved for the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the ultra rightwing were rapped over the knuckles.

Said De Klerk: "The incitement of racial hatred is unacceptable. Slogans such as 'one settler, one bullet' and slogans urging violence against black South Africans are absolutely unacceptable."

#### **Mandela Christmas Message Notes Inkatha Meeting**

*MB2412104290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0830 GMT 24 Dec 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 24 SAPA—A meeting between the African National Congress [ANC] and the Inkatha Freedom Party was a crucial step towards stopping violence between supporters of the two organisations, ANC Deputy President Mr Nelson Mandela said on the eve of his first Christmas at home in almost 30 years.

Giving his Christmas and New Year address at a media conference at his Soweto home, Mr Mandela said the ANC was confident organisations who had declined to talk with government—the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] and Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo]—would at some time take the necessary steps towards negotiations.

He asked that people join him in prayer for peace and justice to prevail, noting that political prisoners, exiles and detainees, will not spend Christmas with their families.

Mr Mandela said he had fears the culture of violence was becoming endemic, afflicting not only society, but also many in the security forces, he said, used maximum violence as a first resort. [sentence as received]

Steps must be taken beyond rhetoric towards the formation of a common front against apartheid, and to this end the ANC had visited PAC leaders and had three meetings with Azapo, he said?

"We can and must all join hands to make a better future for all the people of our country, to secure a common victory over the racist system..."

"Let us all commit ourselves to work together for peace, for the speedy transformation of south africa into a genuinely non-racial and democratic country.

"Let us vow never to spend another Christmas in chains."

Asked about memories of his Christmases spent in prison, Mr Mandela said his first one had been miserable and a sudden break from the festivities he used to enjoy.

Prisoners had however had "a lot of friends", the most powerful being the church, who had sent sweets, biscuits and dried fruit to them on Robben Island.

Conditions had improved with time, and prisoners had been allowed to buy groceries, with a special order allowed for christmas.

They had sung songs, told stories and danced—"a very lovely occasion indeed."

Once moved to Victor Verster Prison, he had been able to spend Christmas with his family, "but nothing compared with what I look forward to tomorrow".

#### **Buthelezi Presents Year-End Messages**

##### **To Black South Africans**

*MB2212054790 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2215 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[SAPA PR WIRE SERVICE; issued by Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party; End of Year Message to Black South Africa by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister kwaZulu and President, Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] Ulundi, 20th December 1990 [dateline as received] Every black South African should enter 1991 with a proud awareness that we blacks have taken control of the destiny of the land of our birth. Apartheid is doomed, white minority government is doomed and the great and hallowed values of the black struggle for liberation can now be implanted in South Africa's constitution, its government and all its social, economic and political institutions.

The only thing we need fear is our own black inability to put a new South Africa together and that fear should start with the fear that we as blacks will be unable to



normalise political relationships between the various black groupings. We will get the kind of government we will deserve. How we go about finally dismembering apartheid and throwing its pieces away, will determine what kind of a future we are going to have. If we do so through the barrel of a gun, the barrel of the gun will dominate our future. If we do so with goodwill and democratic action, co-operation and democracy will dominate our future.

The choice is ours. My message to black South Africa is that in the hour of our victory over apartheid, we must turn to help the whites in this country who are in fact as indigenous and as African as we are, to seek their identity with us in the new South Africa. We cannot live without them, we will not prosper without them. They cannot live without us and they cannot prosper without us. We are in this process of bringing about radical change together and we will be together in the new South Africa. We are together, for better or worse. It is up to us to make it for the better.

My message to black South Africa is that we can be sure-footed and certain in what we do because however hideous apartheid has been and however much apartheid is still there around us, it is doomed and our society and all its institutions are clay in our hands which we can shape and mould as we wish. We need not indulge in adventurist politics. We need not bare teeth, raise fists and rattle AK47's. We need not bluster and threaten and raise private party political armies. We need only to work with all history to bring a new South Africa together that all the race groups in this country actually want.

We need to give power to black society. It is the ordinary man and woman in South Africa who are really in the end going to author change. I and all democratic forces are fighting for the right of the people to determine the future of their country. I am fighting for the right of the people to put governments into power and to remove governments from power. I am fighting for the people to have the right to pick their own leaders and support whatever political party comprehends their interests.

We blacks must turn 1991 into a people's year of victory. The people must control every political party that exists. The people must have the right and the ability to say no to apartheid, no to revolution, no to the armed struggle and the people must have the right to say a definite no to tactics and strategies which are aimed at making South Africa ungovernable.

The people have the right and the privilege to put a new South Africa together in such a way that it becomes a reconciled South Africa. The people have the right to demand stability and progress towards full employment and they have the right to work for a situation in which equality before the law and the constitution becomes equality in standards of living.

The people have the right so to author the future of South Africa that we succeed here in doing what others in Africa have more often than not failed to do - make

political victories the kind of victories that bend the past, heal the rifts and establish the national will to create the wealth the poorest of the poor need. Our political victories in this country must be turned into victories which will give us a head-start in the battle we will have to fight against poverty, ignorance and disease once political victories have been won.

There is a vast silent black majority which must now be empowered. My message to black South Africans is not to let themselves be herded by strident politics and to reject all those organisations which attempt to thrash the ordinary man and woman with the politics of intimidation.

Black South Africa must make 1991 the year of victory not only over apartheid but also a year of victory against violence. The great silent majority in black South Africa must now rise up and say no to violence. They must demand an end to violence. They must say no to the politics of violent intimidation. They must scream enough is enough. They must demand that 1991 becomes a year of no more killings for political purposes. They must demand that 1991 becomes a year of peace. We want peace now so that we can start building the future now. Peace now for liberation.

Black South Africa must say a great no to being bossed by political parties. They must make political parties the tools of the people. We must be able to shout: Long live democracy because we have put a democracy together that can live long.

#### Seeks White Cooperation

MB2212062090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2227 GMT 21 Dec 90

[SAPA PR WIRE SERVICE; issued by: Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party 20 december 1990; End of Year Message to White South Africa by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister, kwaZulu and president, Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] [No dateline as received] My message to white South Africans as we are poised to enter 1991 is that we blacks need them. Africa needs them and the world needs them to pull their weight in establishing a true democracy. Whites can make or break 1991 as a year of negotiations. I believe whites are poised, ready and willing to do so and that they are ready to bow to the dictates of history.

1991 can become a year in which whites rediscover the inner strength that comes from the morality of doing what is right. As individuals whites can make 1991 a year in which the personal relationships that they have been capable of across all colour lines can be generalised and made normative for social and political groupings. They can discover that democracy in South Africa can and will work because there is an indestructible black/white and white/black interdependence which lays the foundations for the cross-cutting ties and the checks and balances on which democracy depends.

Whites must make 1991 a year of victory for democracy. They must accept the power of democracy. They must accept that the principles of democracy provide the basic safeguards which they want. We do not have to rediscover the wheels of democracy. We only have to apply the principles of democracy which mankind has discovered for our generation and for all generations in the world to come.

The world is coming of age, democratically-speaking. Democracy is replacing communism and everywhere the international community is gathering to support democratic decency. It is democratic decency which is going to replace party political dictatorships in Africa, and it is democratic decency that is going to relate South Africa to our neighbours and to African states further afield. There is a whole sub-continental move towards reliance on democracy, discussion and negotiation.

It is democracy that will integrate us with Africa and immunise us from attacks from the vast African Continent in concert with attacks from the rest of the world. It is democracy that will relocate South Africa to where it actually belongs in the world - proudly taking up its position, proudly standing with the democratic giants of the world and holding its own in all the forums of the world.

It is democracy that will safeguard whites against bitter black backlashes for the decades and generations of racism. It is democracy that will dispel fears and heal the breaches which were opened up by racist government and apartheid and which have been made wider by mistakes on both sides of the great colour divide in South Africa.

My message to white South Africans is that they must back Mr. F.W. de Klerk with everything they have. The more powerfully they back Mr. de Klerk the more powerfully blacks will seek alliances with them and seek to establish a South African body corporate in which we are glad to be with each other as blacks and whites.

It is the strength of white commitment to the politics of negotiation which will in important part prescribe the rate at which negotiations can take place and the speed with which we can begin notching up successes in practical applications of that which is negotiated at local, regional and national level.

A powerful team of black and white negotiators moving forward will shed attacks from the far right and from the far left. Powerful negotiators will produce the certainty we all want. Victory over fear is there for the taking. A healing victory over racism is there for the taking. The discovery of common cause and the establishment of a vast black/white national will to establish democracy and make it work awaits us. We must make 1991 a year of achievement in the application of democracy.

I and a great many other black leaders will be working in 1991 to eliminate political violence and all the politics of hatred. We will be working for a stabilised, normalised

South Africa. We will be working to establish the circumstances in which a white contribution can make its mark in history by being party to the salvation of South Africa.

Let us move forward into 1991 as one country with one people who know they will share one destiny and work now with one purpose in mind - making that destiny a destiny we all will want.

### Call to Afrikaners

MB2212064090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
2236 GMT 22 Dec 90

[SAPA PR WIRE SERVICE; issued by: Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party; A Call on Afrikaners To Rise To Meet the Historic Demands Being Made on Them, by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister kwaZulu, and president, Inkatha Freedom Party]

[Text] Ulundi. 20th December 1990 [dateline as received] I want at this closing time of 1990 to extend a particular hand of friendship to South Africa's Afrikaners. I want to say that blacks are becoming proud of a state president who has risen out of the Afrikaner folk to lead South Africa into a democratic future. We are proud of the support that whites are giving him. We are at last witnessing the emergence of white decency in politics which so many of us always knew was there.

When revolutionaries were screaming that there was no salvation for South Africa outside the armed struggle and revolution, I was saying that change was coming about. I was saying that South Africa could bring about a real democracy through reform. I was saying that the world should encourage decency because it was there. I was saying that there was a groundswell developing demanding the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type, industrial democracy. I was saying that Afrikaners in particular were poised to break away from the past and were poised to help establish a new democracy.

I want to thank white South Africans - and Afrikaners in particular - for proving me right. Let us enter 1991 with a new spirit of adventure for democracy. Let us have a new 20th century-style trek into the moral high ground of politics. Let us establish democracy as the arbiter of what is right and wrong in inter-personal and inter-group relationships. Let us go into 1991 together.

The god-fearing decency that Afrikaners have aspired to can now be theirs for the taking because they are turning their backs on racism born of fear. They are recognising their dependence on blacks and they are recognising that the interdependence in which white dependence on black is reciprocated by blacks dependence on white, provides a powerful mould for democratic safeguards.

We cannot un-write history and the democracy we must establish will have to start where the history of conquest and subjugation left off and where apartheid was abandoned. We will have to start where we now are. We have

no other starting point. This is where we are. Let us go forth into 1991 with a mission to make strong and to make steady the springboard from which we will have to launch into a new democracy.

Let us make 1991 a year in which we as blacks and whites together secure it as a year in which all our children and the generations to come recognise as a year in which political justice and courage, both from black and white, laid the foundations for democracy that could never be shaken.

Let us make 1991 a year of reaching out to each other across racial divisions. Let the Afrikaners enter 1991 relying on God to lead them safely through this time of difficult transition. They must let God speak to South Africa and the world through their actions. They must help establish Christian faith as an essential ingredient of the democracy that a Christian country will rely on.

Afrikaners are privileged at this time of South Africa's history. They live under the searching international spotlights which will shine upon every decent deed. The whole world is poised to rally behind every decent democratic act the Afrikaners can make. Let them move with certainty and let them dispel the doubts that exist amongst some blacks that they cannot do so.

Above all, let the Afrikaners show the world that they can assist in putting a democracy together in which democratic victories can be turned into victories from which Afrikaners and whites generally can go forth with blacks to do battle against what really is the common enemy - poverty, ignorance and disease. Let us have a victory in South Africa which enables us to do that which others have failed to do in Africa. Let us go forth into the world of politics and economics where no African country has been before. Let us pioneer new attacks on poverty which were born in the way we put a democracy together. Let us act now for the sake of the future.

To Afrikaners of right-wing persuasion who want to seek refuge in that which so patently failed everywhere in the world, I say please come in from the cold. Minority government has never worked anywhere in the world. It will not work in South Africa. The interdependence of black and white makes it imperative that we have an integrated political system.

Let me add the thought that if the principles of democracy will not suffice to secure white interests in a non-racial, open democracy, they will not suffice to secure Afrikaner interests in a closed Afrikaner society. There is only grief ahead for those who seek division for fear of democracy.

There is a vast South African throng coming together and moving forward to march into the future. We can do it. We can put a democracy together that works. We can put a democracy together which stabilises South Africa because it establishes the circumstances in which the mortal enemy of democracy - spreading mass poverty - is trounced.

Let the Afrikaner's moral fibre and let his yearning for Christian godliness now rise to help him to participate in moving away from apartheid in such a way that every race group in this country ends up being governed in the way that they are willing to be governed.

#### **Azapo Christmas Message Praises Education**

*MB2112111690 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1002 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 21 SAPA—The Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) said in a Christmas message on Friday [21 December] they would strive to act in a way that would turn schooling into an instrument of liberation.

"This Christmas I pray, I hope, and I will struggle to make the action of our people a revolutionary process that will turn schooling into an instrument of real liberation for our people," said Azapo President Prof Itumeleng Mosala, in a statement.

#### **ANC Youth League Releases Christmas Statement**

*MB2012144090 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1419 GMT 20 Dec 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 20 SAPA—Dramatic and complex were words used by the African National Congress Youth League [ANCYL] to describe 1990.

In their Christmas statement the League said the year had been of historic significance, but they said it was disturbing that "violence, detentions and political trials continue".

The government was also accused of failing to adhere to the spirit and letter of both the Harare and United Nations Declarations. The League also said it suspected the government was working to a secret agenda.

"We of the Youth League believe that whatever the case is, the intention is negative and bodes ill for the spirit of reconciliation and peaceful engagement at very sensitive levels of the political process."

An interim government and a constituent assembly would remain the goals of the League; and mass action was a universally acceptable democratic right.

The League called on the youth to "learn from the mistakes of the past and yet be inspired by previous glories".

The activities of the youth must be guided by "discipline, devotion and loyalty in the struggle of our people," the statement said.

#### **De Klerk Blames Namibia Officials in Lubowski Case**

*MB2312171890 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English  
18 Dec 90 pp 1, 3*

[Unattributed report: "FW de Klerk Speaks Out on Lubowski Case"]



[Text] South African State President F.W. de Klerk has written to the parents of the late Anton Lubowski, assassinated SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leader, blaming the Namibian authorities for the failure to extradite two South Africans to Namibia to stand trial for murder.

De Klerk added that the evidence on which the request for extradition had been based had been "so weak" that the magistrate could not even set into motion investigative procedures.

Molly Lubowski, Anton's mother, told THE NAMIBIAN she and her husband had written to the South African State President as a last resort because those responsible for her son's death had not yet been brought to justice.

Anton Lubowski was gunned down in a hail of bullets outside his Windhoek home in September 1989—the victim of unknown assassins, believed to be members of the South African Defence Force's secret arm, the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

In May this year, the Namibian authorities applied for the extradition of two CCB members, Chappie Maree and Staal Burger, to stand trial for the murder of Lubowski, but to date with no success.

The Lubowskis then approached the South African State President who replied personally to their inquiries.

In a letter dated November 30, De Klerk said he wished to reiterate what he said in Parliament earlier this year, namely that crime should have no place in South Africa. "Where and when it occurs it must be prevented and eradicated. Lawlessness cannot be fought with lawless tactics. Justice requires that its prevention be undertaken in keeping with legal provisions and on a proper and factual basis."

The South African State President added that at present no extradition treaty existed between South Africa and Namibia. The legal provisions for the extradition of alleged criminals from South Africa to other states, where no extradition agreements existed, were contained in the Law on Extradition of 1962. In terms of this, a request for extradition had to be heard before a magistrate, and if the latter agreed with the request, then such a person would be held in custody until such time as a final decision had been taken by the Minister of Justice.

The Minister of Justice could not agree to extradition unless a magistrate had made a finding in this regard, and the magistrate in turn could only make such a finding if he was satisfied that the evidence could justify such a trial.

"The question is thus whether the available evidence gave prima facie evidence that the accused had committed the deed, or of such a nature that there was a reasonable chance of successful prosecution," the State President went on.

Where a crime was committed on foreign soil, the onus was on the authorities in question to provide sufficient evidence for extradition. It was on such evidence that the South African magistrate would base his decision.

"The authorities in Namibia requested, during May 1990, the extradition of two people. The evidence which accompanied the request was so weak that it did not even serve the purpose of allowing investigation procedures to commence before a magistrate," said the South African State President, adding that the Namibian authorities had been informed accordingly.

Because South Africa was dependent on investigations in Namibia and because the application from Namibia had not been based on sufficient and adequate evidence to grant the extradition, the State President advised the Lubowskis to "approach the authorities there."

The State President concluded by saying he hoped his letter helped to "put the matter in perspective."

#### **Mandela-De Klerk 'Secret' Meeting Reported**

*MB2212100590 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR in English 22 Dec 90 p 1*

[Article by political reporter Esmare van der Merwe: "Mandela, F.W. in Secret Talks"]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] deputy-president Nelson Mandela is said to have met President de Klerk on Monday this week, in clear defiance of an ANC ban on "secret" meetings with the Government.

Senior sources said yesterday the meeting had taken place on Monday, a day after the ANC's crucial consultative conference and a day before Mr de Klerk's hard-line year-end address on television to the nation.

Mr Mandela is said to have been accompanied by the ANC's foreign affairs director, Thabo Mbeki.

Our Pretoria Correspondent says Mr Mandela's delegation included Mr Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani and political committee secretary Valli Moosa. The government delegation included Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan.

ANC president Oliver Tambo apparently did not attend the meeting.

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk's office said she had no knowledge of such a meeting, while an ANC executive committee member said he would have expected Mr. Mandela to give the national executive committee prior warning of such talks.

At the consultative conference, the ANC endorsed the concept of talks between the Government and the ANC, but passed a resolution that contact would take place "without any secrecy and confidentiality".



However, in his closing address to the conference, Mr Mandela said confidential meetings between the two negotiating teams would continue.

He said those ANC members opposed to the idea "do not understand the nature of negotiations", adding that had such meetings not taken place, there would be no negotiations at all.

In his year-end address, Mr de Klerk adopted a hardline attitude towards the ANC on matters such as its plans to intensify mass action next year and its demand for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

However, in an implicit acknowledgement of the ANC leadership's bona fides, Mr de Klerk said the ANC had to decide whether it was prepared to "follow their leaders' commitment" to peaceful and negotiated solutions to the country's political problems.

Observers said yesterday the fact that Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk had met a day after the conference underlined the good working relationship and trust between the two men.

While praising Mr Mandela for having called to order his militant wing—he rejected some demands as being "totally and utterly unreasonable"—the observers expressed concern about Mr de Klerk's speech.

They said he had clearly played to his whites-only constituency, and had not crossed the bridge of party interest to the same extent as Mr Mandela.

#### ANC Denies Meeting 'Secret'

MB2212113290 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0946 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 22 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] on Saturday took strong exception to an article in a Johannesburg newspaper which said the organisation's deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had held a secret meeting with State President F W de Klerk last Monday in defiance of an ANC resolution against "secret" talks.

In a statement to SAPA, the ANC said: "The meeting held in Pretoria on Monday was a long scheduled meeting of the working group looking into the suspension of armed actions. Given the importance of the issues being discussed, the ANC delegation was led by Mr Mandela while the government was led by Mr de Klerk."

The ANC added that to report it as a secret meeting in defiance of the ANC Consultative Conference was "misleading and mischievous and should be disregarded with the contempt it deserves".

#### Further on ANC Response

MB2312134890 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR  
in English 23 Dec 90 p 2

[Report by political correspondent David Breier: "Talks Widen Rifts within ANC"]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has taken strong exception to a report of the latest meeting between Nelson Mandela and F.W. de Klerk and has denied it was in any way held in defiance of an African National Congress resolution.

But tensions appear to be rising between the ANC leadership and militant factions over the continued contacts between Mr. Mandela and the Government.

The latest meeting held in Pretoria on Monday [17 December] was a long-scheduled meeting of the working group examining questions arising out of the suspension of armed actions, the ANC stated.

Mr. Mandela led the ANC delegation while President de Klerk headed the Government delegation.

The meeting was held a day after the militant ANC consultative conference ended and the day before Mr. de Klerk's tough anti-violence speech broadcast on TV.

Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela announced at an earlier meeting this month that they would hold further talks in the next weeks and months.

The ANC consultative conference, on the other hand, while supporting negotiations, resolved that these should take place without secrecy and confidentiality.

ANC spokesman Ahmed Kathrada told the SUNDAY STAR that the ANC's consultative conference resolution did not place a ban on confidential meetings between ANC and Government leaders and there was no question of Mr. Mandela defying the conference resolution.

Nor were ANC leaders required to announce publicly any such meetings in advance and to report on them in public afterwards.

He said that what the ANC consultative conference had resolved was that there be no secret and confidential negotiations of vital policy matters which could change ANC policy, without proper consultation.

Mr. Kathrada said the need for consultation was in any event the declared policy of the ANC.

A senior ANC source, asking not to be identified, pointed out that the consultative conference had ended with the understanding that there would continue to be informal confidential talks between leaders.

Mr. Mandela had drawn a distinction between confidential talks and secret talks. There would continue to be confidential talks on which the ANC's National Executive Committee [NEC] would be informed, but without

public announcements. But there were to be no secret talks about which the NEC would be kept in the dark.

Mr. Mandela told the conference that those ANC members opposed to confidential meetings with the Government did not understand the nature of negotiations and that without such meetings there would be no negotiations.

The ANC consultative conference endorsed the concept of negotiations between the Government and the ANC, while adding that such negotiations take place without secrecy and confidentiality.

University of Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire said there was a large group of angry deprived ANC cadres who realised there was a "horrendous gap" between their demands and what was happening.

They remained unemployed and poor while "fatcats" now included the ANC leadership. "One can understand their anger," he said.

"But if the masses were to dictate the negotiations, we might as well close up shop. If the black and white constituencies were to write the negotiation script, there would be nothing to negotiate about."

Professor Schrire said that negotiations were a "kind of schizophrenic process" in which on the one hand leaders were involved in real world situations while their constituencies were still involved in grandstand politics, rhetoric and gestures in resolutions that gave them an "emotional high."

"The essence of leadership is in two parts, firstly recognising that compromise is absolutely necessary, and secondly selling this to their constituency."

Professor Schrire said the same applied to Mr. de Klerk who had plainly deviated from his mandate because he was accepted as a leader with a blank cheque to act on his constituency's behalf.

"What the ANC leadership needs is to create its own blank cheque. It can't function without it," he said.

—It is not just Nelson Mandela and other leading members of the African National Congress who are holding talks—confidential or otherwise—with the Government. Consultations are going on all the time with blacks right across the political, social and economic spectrum.

Among the recent initiatives was a private indaba called by Foreign Minister Pik Botha a week ago.

He apparently invited about 500 leading black personalities from all over the country to an informal get-together. Only 100-or-so were willing or able to attend and to some extent Pik's party coincided with the big ANC conference in Johannesburg.

Word from those who attended is that Pik was fishing for two things: blacks interested in diplomatic postings and blacks ready to take a fuller role in local government.

#### Transkei Says Information Passed to Government

MB1912193490 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1857 GMT 19 Dec 90

[Text] Umtata Dec 19 SAPA—Transkei has furnished the South African Government with sensitive information regarding last month's abortive coup in Umtata, including the name of the owner of a farm near Queenstown allegedly used as an assembly point and training camp for the attackers.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said on Wednesday the intelligence passed on had also included the names of people whom the coup leader, Colonel Craig Duli, had telephoned during the coup bid, shortly before it ended in his death.

Speaking at an end-of-year function in Umtata, Gen. Holomisa said the military government endorsed a call by political organisations for a judicial inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the coup attempt—particularly the fact it was launched from South African soil.

He thanked the Transkei people for supplying the government with information which he said led to the arrest of "people from west Transkei" in possession of weapons of war immediately after the abortive coup.

"Certain individuals" had been arrested in connection with the attempt, and would appear in court soon.

Gen. Holomisa repeated an appeal to Pretoria to "hand over" a Butterworth businessman, Vulindlela Mbotoli, whom Transkei wants extradited to face treason charges.

South Africa should also hand over Transkei's former envoy to Austria, Amos Somdaka, wanted in Transkei for alleged corruption, and a former MP [member of Parliament] for Idutywa, Mazizi Ntswana.

He said the fate of people who had been arrested in connection with the coup bid largely depended on South Africa's handing over of the three men, "hopefully before January 15, 1991".

## Liberia

### Johnson Thanks West African Leaders for Support

AB2312124490 Dakar PANA in English  
1304 GMT 23 Dec 90

[Text] Dakar 23 Dec. (PANA)—The leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Prince Yormie Johnson, has expressed thanks to West African leaders who sent troops to Liberia to take part in the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace-keeping force in that war-torn country. Speaking in a Radio Gambia interview shortly before he left Banjul Saturday, the Liberian rebel leader also said that Liberian refugees in The Gambia gave him a good report on the treatment accorded to them there. Johnson thanked the current ECOWAS chairman, Gambian President Dawda Jawara, for his personal concern and assistance to the Liberian refugees in The Gambia who told him that Jawara sees them and gives them money.

When he was asked to explain why his men broke the ceasefire the warring factions had agreed to at the ECOWAS special summit in Bamako, Johnson explained that an ambush had been set for him when he was going to see the interim president, Amos Sawyer. He said it was because of this that some people, including a lieutenant, were arrested in Monrovia. Saying that he had full evidence on this, Johnson denied that his forces breached the ceasefire.

He also told the radio that it was he who entered Liberia with rebel forces on 24 December, 1989. However, since his objective was to overthrow the government of the late President Samuel Doe, he left his rear behind. But he said every time he abandoned an area to move towards Monrovia, it would be occupied by Charles Taylor and his group.

Because of the ceasefire accord they had all signed, Johnson said there was nothing he could do about Taylor's illegal occupation of these areas. He said he was leaving the matter to the people to decide when they elect the country's next president at internationally supervised free and fair elections. At that time, he said Taylor would have to give up all the territory to the Liberian people while he (Johnson) would return to barracks. My principal aim, as a military man, was to overthrow the Doe government. I am not fighting to be president. I would return to barracks, lay down my arms. As now, I am back to barracks, he told the radio.

Johnson said the ceasefire agreement reached at the Banjul meeting of ECOWAS foreign ministers and the warring factions on 21 December meant that they had achieved more than they did at previous meetings. He explained that he had earlier walked out of the Banjul meeting because Taylor did not come as was agreed. Moreover, Taylor's representative at the meeting did not say if he had Taylor's mandate to sign any agreement reached by the meeting. They beat around the bush.

Every time we meet they wanted to consult Taylor. I wanted Taylor to be present, he added. He however described the atmosphere at the talks as friendly and the ceasefire accord as a fruitful outcome of their deliberations.

### Prince Johnson on Political Ambitions

AB2212141890 London BBC World Service in English  
0630 GMT 22 Dec 90

[From the "Saturdays Only" program]

[Text] It seems like the talks on Liberia's cease-fire held in The Gambian capital, Banjul, ended on a pretty optimistic note yesterday. The talks though did not begin on a high note. The interim president, Amos Sawyer, and the leader of the main rebel group, Charles Taylor, did not attend. And his rival Prince Johnson, at one stage, stormed out threatening to boycott the negotiations unless Taylor was there. Once the dust settled, some progress was made and agreement was reached on several issues. They agreed on a military free zone. They will organize an all [word indistinct] conference within two months, and they have also promised more discussions on the implementation of the cease-fire. After the talks were over, Robin White called up rebel leader Prince Johnson and asked him whether he was pleased with the progress made:

[Johnson] I (?think) we have made a lot of progress. This is the very first that the warring factions have been given the privilege to meet independently and to draw the modalities for total cease-fire to bring peace and happiness to the country.

[White] What is going to be the next step?

[Johnson] The Liberian people are to decide the future of their own destiny regarding the interim leadership. So this will be carried on or conducted in an all-Liberian conference, and the warring factions decided that the all-Liberian conference will begin within 60 days, and within 30 days everything regarding security will be worked out, and that all ports, seaports, airports, will be considered free military zones. We want to repatriate all of the Liberian people from exile. We want planes to begin coming in to bring our people so that they can be present, at which time they will decide whether they need Dr. Sawyer, whether they need Charles Taylor. But meanwhile, the interim government presently headed by Dr. Sawyer stands.

[White] So you are saying he is still the interim president?

[Johnson] Dr. Sawyer is the interim president. Dr. Sawyer is the interim president and the faction on the side of Taylor is saying that Taylor is the interim president. We have agreed, in accordance with the Bamako agreement, that in Liberia, all Liberians wherever they are, must come to Liberia so that during the all-Liberian people's conference, they can decide whether



they want Sawyer—or the present interim government headed by Sawyer—or the present government headed by Charles Taylor. But this is a decision of the Liberian people. Meanwhile, to avoid armed conflict we agreed to that, and presently Dr. Sawyer is the interim leader, and I think we all agreed to that. So we will never move Dr. Sawyer from office until the Liberian people can decide.

[White] Now this conference will take place in Monrovia itself you said?

[Johnson] This conference that I am speaking about now will take place in Monrovia, and Charles Taylor's faction has agreed to come to Monrovia. Hezekiah Bowen's faction, the AFL [Armed Forces of Liberia], is there, and we all had agreed that there will be total cease-fire, all ports reopened, all Liberians come home to make a decision.

[White] Sir, in Banjul we were busy talking to the representative of the National Patriotic Front, Tom Woewiyu, who not so long ago claimed that you were dead. How did you get on with him?

[Johnson] Oh that was fun today and yesterday. In fact the very first day I met Tom Woewiyu. He saw me because he was walking with three fellows, Momolu Sirleaf, who I believe [words indistinct] the other two guys were [words indistinct] Private Joe Tuah and Private John Tieh. And Tom Woewiyu himself knows me very well. But they saw me and they bent their heads down and they were walking, bypassing me, so I called Tom Woewiyu and I said: Oh Tom, this is Prince Johnson, come here. Hello! How are you? And he said fine but he did not want to look at my face. I said: Look! This is the man you said was dead! I am alive! I am alive!

[White] Do you have any political ambitions at all or are you prepared to say that your job has now been done and you are just going to become a backroom voice?

[Johnson] I am a soldier, but I laid down my arms for now. I have no political ambition, but mine is a revolution and a revolution has three phases: political, military, economic. Not everybody that comprises the INPFL [Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia]—I Need Peace for Liberia, that is the definition; you may say Independent National Patriotic Front, but it is I Need Peace for Liberia.

But now everybody that comprises my unit is a soldier. I have politicians, I have doctors, I have so many people with various careers. And we have the intention to organize a political party in the future to mobilize the Liberian people. The youth wing of the INPFL, they are called the INPFL volunteers. They are in Monrovia; the 07re in all parts of Liberia. Many people [words indistinct] come to me and they expressed desire to join; they have come to join. I have about 70,000 members of my troops and about 90,000 volunteers moving day and night, cleaning the city, working very hard.

So I shall form a political party, but I am not going to run. I have no political ambition. I do not want to be chief of staff; I do not want to be president; I do not want to be a minister, not a commanding general, of course. I have finished my course. I am going to lay low as a diplomat now, and anything that the president wants from me like advising him, I shall advise on military matters.

[White] You do have the reputation of being an extremely wild man who is prepared to kill for more or less nothing. Do you think that reputation is at all justified?

[Johnson] Robin do not mind these [word indistinct] telling you people that Prince kills. Look, I am commando. I am a fighting man. I am a special forces [word indistinct] fellow. I am a popular man in Liberia. I am well known. I stand for the principle that many people do not stand for. I want democracy. I do not want dictatorship in Liberia. I do not want military government.

[White] They say that you are a very reasonable man in the morning but after a couple of beers at lunch time, it is best to stay out of your way.

[Johnson] Look Robin, you know psychological warfare tactics. There are people there talking all kinds of things that they cannot prove. Now they are telling you that in the morning I can be good [words indistinct], but in the afternoon then I go wild. You think it is straight? [laughter] I am controlling almost 100,000 people, the whole of Liberian people. Come to Monrovia. Listen! I have people; they will tell you this is propaganda. Do not take it for true.

[White] But you do like beer. I have seen pictures of you with beer.

[Johnson] Beer?

[White] Yes!

[Johnson] What kind of beer?

[White] Budweiser or something else in pictures of you with cans of beer.

[Johnson] Oh look at Robin! (?Because) the people tell you that I can drink Budweiser, yes I do! I drink Budweiser and I am the only man [words indistinct] that gets Budweiser? Do you want to drink some too? [laughter]

[White] To come back to the peace process, are you on the road to peace or back on the road to war? How do you see it?

[Johnson] No, Liberia is back to peace. Liberia is back to peace. Let nobody deceive you or give you misinformation. Liberia is back to peace. [end recording]



### **Fate of Kidnapped Nigerian Reporters Probed**

*AB2012182090 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 20 Dec 90*

[Text] The president, Dr. Sawyer, says his government will investigate issues that the Nigerian journalists reportedly held hostage by the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the NPLF. Dr. Sawyer, who was on an official visit to Nigeria early during the week told Nigerian journalists on Sunday that his government upholds freedom of the press and the fundamental rights of journalists to pursue their profession without intimidation and hindrance regardless of the circumstances.

In a press briefing the Nigerian minister of information suggested that the journalists could be feared dead. There has been no official confirmation of the fate of the Nigerian journalists.

### **Nigerian Foreign Minister Addresses ECOMOG**

*AB2312172890 Lagos Domestic Service in English  
1500 GMT 23 Dec 90*

[Text] Nigeria has welcomed the peace agreement signed by the warring factions in Liberia. The minister of external affairs, Major General Ike Nwachukwu, described the agreement as a gigantic step toward the restoration of (lasting peace) in Liberia.

Gen. Nwachukwu was addressing troops at the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] headquarters in Monrovia. The minister said the excellent performance by the West African peacekeeping force was a proof that black Africa has come of age in resolving its problems. He advised ECOMOG forces to continue to show dedication to duty and absolute loyalty to their officers and countries.

Earlier, Gen. Nwachukwu had visited the Nigerian Embassy to see the extensive damage done to the building. He paid a courtesy call on the ECOMOG field commander, Major General Joshua Dogonyaro.

Meanwhile, the food situation in Liberia is said to have improved considerably. A Radio Nigeria correspondent in Monrovia, Ademola Afolabi, reports that the situation was helped with the massive donation of rice by the international community. The sole administrator of the Liberian Ports Authority, Commander Oni of Nigeria, told newsmen that over 2,500 tons of rice was delivered at the Free Port of Monrovia within the past two weeks.

### **Doe Soldiers Search for Food in Sierra Leone**

*AB2212113090 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English  
1900 GMT 21 Dec 90*

[Text] Reports reaching us from Lofa in Grand Cape Mount County say soldiers who crossed the Sierra Leonean border recently came from the remnants of the

Armed Forces of Liberia and some [word indistinct] of the Prince Johnson faction who are said to be on the loose in the area. Contrary to a recently received report, factual evidence has proven that some of the Doe soldiers crossed into Sierra Leone in search of food. The NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] intelligence report has said that since the cease-fire agreement was signed last month, some Prince Johnson soldiers have been seen roaming near the Liberia-Sierra Leone border. It can be recalled that several soldiers belonging to the Prince Johnson faction were arrested in Monrovia for looting by the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces in spite of the cease-fire in effect.

### **'First Commercial Flight' Lands in Monrovia**

*AB1612134990 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 15 Dec 90*

[Text] The first commercial flight to Liberia since the reopening of the James Spriggs Payne airfield has landed yesterday. The plane, which was making a United Nations chartered flight, brought in food and medicine from Freetown, Sierra Leone. Also on board were passengers from relief agencies who will be making relief need assessments.

The UNICEF coordinator, Mr. (Karl Tinsman), says the United Nations will commission two flights a week to Liberia. ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] has given security clearance to the United Nations to fly in relief supplies to the James Spriggs Payne airfield in Sinkor, which was opened to commercial flights last weekend.

### **Second Weekly Newspaper Appears on Newsstands**

*AB2012222090 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English  
0900 GMT 20 Dec 90*

[Text] The second weekly newspaper, THE NEW TIMES, yesterday appeared on the newsstand for the first time. The paper is the second to be published by local journalists since the appearance of the TORCHLIGHT newspaper in the end of November. The TORCHLIGHT was launched to fill the information vacuum created as a result of the civil war in Monrovia.

In its maiden edition yesterday, THE NEW TIMES carried a lead story entitled: [Words indistinct] and Talk Food. According to its editorial, the staff of the two papers has been divided between both papers. THE NEW TIMES, a sister paper of the TORCHLIGHT, will highlight human interest stories, news, views, and feature articles of national life.

Meanwhile, the Executive Committee of the Press Union of Liberia has welcomed the publication of the two newspapers, the TORCHLIGHT and THE NEW TIMES.

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